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The Life and Death of
Charles the First,
King of Great Britain, France and
Ireland: Containing an Account of his Sufferings;
His TRYAL, SENTENCE, and Dying Words on
the Scaffold; and his sorrowful Farewel and Ad-
vice to his Children, and the whole Nation in
general.



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The Life and Death of Charles the First, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

THIS Pious, tho' Unfortunate Prince Charles the first, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, was the Son of James the 6th, King of Scots, and Anne his Wife, Daughter to the King of Denmark: He was born at Dunfermeling, one of the Principal Towns of Fife in Scotland, on Novem. 19. Anno 1600. in so much Weakness, that his Baptism was hasten'd without the usual Ceremonies; Providence seeming to Consecrate him to Suffering from the very Womb. At 2 years of Age he was created Duke of Albany, Marquess of Ormond, Earl of Ross, and Baron of Ardmarch. When he was 3 years Old, he was committed to the Care and Governance of Sir Robert Cary's Lady, as a Reward for being the first Messenger of Queen Elizabeth's Death. At 11 years of age he was made Knight of the Garter, and the next Year his elder Brother Prince Henry dying, he succeeded him in the Dukedom of Cornwall. When he was 16 years of Age he was created Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester and Flint, the Revenues thereof being assigned him for the Maintenance of his Court. At 22 years of Age, he was sent by the King his Father into Spain, to contract a Marriage with the Infanta, but this was liker to turn into a War with the Spaniards, and a Marriage was sought with Henrieta Maria the youngest Daughter of the French King. In the interim of which King James died at Theobalds, Sunday March the 27th, 1625. And Prince Charles was immediately proclaim'd King at the Court Gate, and so throughout the three Kingdoms, with infinite Rejoycings. His first Publick Act was celebrating his Father's Funeral, whereat himself was chief Mourner, contrary to the Practice of all his Royal Predecessors: When he had paid that Debt, he next provided for Posterity, and therefore hastened the coming over of his Royal Consort, whom he received at Dover, and was Married on Trinity-Sunday at Canterbury. Thus having dispatched the Affairs of his Family, he applyed himself to those of the Kingdom, in which he seem'd not so much to ascend a Throne, as to wrestle with all the Difficulties of a corrupted State, whose long Peace had soften'd the Nobles into Court-Pleasures, and made

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the Commons Insolent by a great Plenty. His First Parliament began *June 18.* At the Opening of which the King acquainted them with the necessary Supplies for the War with *Spain*, which they had importunately thro' his Mediation engag'd his Father in, which after some Petitions and Delays, they answer'd but with two Subsidies, too poor a stock to furnish an Army, yet was kindly receiv'd: in Expectation of more at the next Sitting: For the Infection seizing upon *London*, the Parliament was adjourn'd till *August*, when they were to meet at *Oxford*; and at that time he pass'd some Acts that were presented to him. At the next Session, he gave a Complying and Satisfactory Answer to all their Petitions, and expected a Return in larger Subsidies, toward the *Spanish War*; but instead of these, there were high and furious Debates; Grievances, Consultations to form and Publish Remonstrances, Accusations against the *Duke of Buckingham*; which the King esteeming Reproaches of his Government, Dissolves that Assembly, hoping to find one of a less Cholerick Complexion after his Coronation. This drew after it another Mischiefe, the Miscarriage of the Designs upon *Spain* by tending (for want of Supplies) the Fleet uncapable of attempting *Cadiz*. And now *Feb. 2d.* the King perform'd the Ceremony of his Coronation, after which he began a 2d. Parliament, wherein the Commons Voted him 4 Subsidies, but the Faction then forming in the Kingdom, tacking it to other matters, as the Ruine of the *Duke of Buckingham*, and Remonstrances against the Government: the King Dissolves the Parliament (*June 18.*) and the Bill for the Subsidies never pass'd. This misunderstanding at Home, produc'd another War abroad, for the King of *France* taking advantage of these Domestick Broils began open War and seiz'd upon the *English* Merchants in the River of *Bordeaux*. The next Year (1627) the King quicken'd by the Petitions of the *Rebellers*; who sued for his Protection, as well as by the Justice of his own Cause, sent the *Duke of Buckingham* to attack the Isle of *Rhee*, which partly thro' the *Duke's* Conduct miscarried. This occasion'd the King to call another Parliament, which in the begining prov'd very shamefull, but the Faction labour to form new Discontents and Jealousies, and are again hammering out Remonstrances to Reproach him and his Government. which the King being unable to endure, he Adjourns the Parliament, *June 26th.* till *Octob. 20.* soon after Peace was clapt up with

France, and King Charles the Second Born, all was in Peace and Quietness till 1632 when the King took a journey into Scotland, to receive the Imperial Crown there, and was accordingly Crown'd at *Edenburgh* June 10th. and return'd with great welcome again into *England*; But the Malecontents here defus'd their Poyson; they complain'd of Invasions on their *Spiritual Liberties*, because the Bishops endeavour'd to reduce the Ceremonies of the Church to their Primitive Observance, for which both his Majesty and they were defam'd with *Papery*: And now the Tax of Ship-Money appear'd that was likewise pretended a Breach to their Civil Liberties, and contrary to Law, because not laid by Parliament: Amidst all these difficulties and Calumnies the King hitherto had Govern'd so, that sober Men could not Pray for, nor Heaven grant in mercy to a People any greater happiness; but for the Arts and Fury of some Wicked Men, who endeavour'd to overwhelm every Part of the Kings Dominions with a Deluge of Blood. The first storm arose from the *North*, where Disputes were manag'd about Church Government; till at length the King Marches that way with a Gallant Army, and Oblig'd the *Scots* to sue for an Accommodation; but they soon broke their Faith as soon as the King had Disbanded his Army; which occasion'd the King to prepare for another Army, and in order thereto calls a Parliament in *Ireland*, and another in *England*, which latter he was fain to Dissolve without any Effect. The King however, Vigourously Prosecuted his Undertaking, and rais'd a sufficient Army, but could not do it with equal speed to his Enemies, so that he gave a Defeat to a Party of it, e're the Rear could be brought up, Commanded by the Earl of *Strafford*: He was no sooner arriv'd at the Army himself, but there follow'd him a Petition of some *English* Lords, Conformable to the *Scotch Remonstrance*, which they call'd the *Inventions of the Army*; so that his Majesty might justly fear some attempts in the *South*, while he was thus Defending himself in the *North*. The King asswett'd these Petitioners to their Satisfaction, which was to Summon all the Peers to Consult what would be most Conducive to the safety and Honour of the Nation: who accordingly met Sep. 24. where it was determin'd that a Parliament should be call'd to meet *Novem. 31.* and in the mean time a Cessation should be made with the *Scots* *Novem 3d.* began that fatal Parliament that Involved the Nation in a Sea of blood, ruin'd the King, and betray'd all there own Priviledges

Privileges, and the Peoples Liberty into the Power of a Phannatick and Perfidious Army. And tho' his Majesty could not hope to find them Moderate, yet he endeavour'd to make them so, Committing himself freely to the Direction of his *English* Subjects, promising to satisfy all their just Grievances, but the Malignity of some few, and the Ignorance of others Employ'd that Assembly to other matters, First in purging the House of such as they thought would not comply with their Destructive Enterprizes, then they declar'd upon publick Grievances, every way raising up Contumelies against the present Power. Then they fell upon all the Chief Ministers of State, Impeach'd the Earl of *Strafford*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and others, and after five Months time, for so long they took to rake up Evidence: the Earl of *Strafford* is brought to his Tryal; Condemn'd and Beheaded, when this was done, the Parliament began to think of sending home the *Scots*, and his Majesty follows them into *Scotland*, to settle the Kingdom, while the King was here, broke out the Popish Rebellion in *Ireland*, which help'd yet more to enflame matters. The next thing after the Kings Return from *Scotland*, was to take away the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Lords, and the Ceremonies in the Church: And Twelve of the Bishops that Protested against this unwarrantable Proceeding were Committed to the Tower. They spread a rumour, that they intended to Impeach the Queen of High-Treason, which necessitates the King to send Her into *France* for her Security, and besides the attempts upon his Honour; they endeavour another upon his Family, in Seizing upon the Prince, and Duke of York, which the King hearing, he immediately removes with the two young Princes to *Uxbridge*, in order to his Journey to the North, where he intended to settle his Abode till he saw what Issue this storm would have, and that the King on his arrival there, should not make use of that Magazine at *Hull*, which at his own Charges he had provided for the *Scotch* Expedition. The Parliament send down Sir *John Hotham*, to Seize upon them, who when his Majesty approach'd the Place, shut the Gates against him, and deny'd him Entrance: And now began to kindle the War, which soon took Fire on the whole Nation. The Parliament having the Navy in their Hands: Some vain Proposals of Peace from the King, hasten'd all they cou'd to raise Horse and Foot: They seiz'd also upon the Revenues of the King, Queen, Prince, and Bishops: and plunder'd the

the Houses of those Lords and Gentlemen, whom they Suspected to be Favourites of the Kings Cause. His Majesty in the interim, moved from *Tork* to *Nottingham*, and thence to *Stretesbury*, gathering an Army greater than his Enemies imagin'd he could have form'd; with which he begins his March towards *London*, and in his way thither, met with *Essex's* Army, and at *Edgehill* gave them Battle, and Routed them; took *Banbury*, and enter'd Tryumphantly into *Oxford*; and having secur'd that Place, he Advances toward *London*, and fell upon the remainder of *Essex's* Army, at *Trentford*, sunk their Ordnance, and took Five hundred Prisoners and intended to proceed to *London*, but that he had intelligence that the City was sending all their Auxillaries to Re-inforce *Essex's* Troops, wherefore he returned again to *Oxford*. At the opening of the Spring 1643, the Queen comes back into *England*, bringing with her considerable Supplies, and great successes follow'd it, for he obtains an Advantage, at *Edgehill* that *Oxford*, and is Marching toward *London*, Successes follow'd it, This put the Parliament upon a direct Method to encrease the Nations Miseries by calling in the *Scotch* to their assistance: The Winter was spent on both sides in preparations, tho' the King wrote for Peace, but they burnt his Letters by the Hand of the Common Hangman, The Parliament Forces encreased by the *Scotish* Succours, obtain several Advantages over the Kings Party. His Majesty having once more provided for the safety of the Queen, by sending her to *Exeter*, there to be brought to Bed, and from thence seek shelter in *France*, taking his last farewell of her, left *Oxford* strengthened against the Siege, and afterwards falling upon Sir *William Waller* at *Crofted-bridge*, obtained a Compleat Victory, which wou'd have been of more Consequence, but for his Majesties tenderness in shedding his Subjects Blood. But all these little Advantages weighed little to what soon followed in the Irrepareable Blow to the Kings Interest, receiv'd at *Marston-Moor* under Prince *Rupert*, which was seconded by the Surrender of *Tork*, and all the whole *North* was reduc'd to the Obedience of the Parliament: The King had some small success in the *West* against *Essex*, yet in general the tyde run against him, and his Forces grew Weaker every day; Jan. 10th. the Arch-Bishop *Laud* was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*: The fatal Battle of *Naseby* follow'd soon after, upon which the Kings Garrisons Surrender'd by heaps, and his Affairs quite ruined in *England*, all his hopes were now on *Scotland*, which *Montross* had Conquer'd almost from one end to the other; but at last he was quite Vanquish'd: under these Distresses His Majesty finding no Security for his Person, for the Parliament would not let him come to *London*; wherefore having no other hopes, he put himself into the Power of the *Scots*; then Believing *Newark*; who instead of Protecting him, make a Bargain and Sale of him to the Parliament, for 200000*l.* and 200000*l.* more when they had deliver'd up *Bernick* and other *English* Garrisons they were Possess'd of; so the *Scots* return home, and the *English* having bought the King, confine him to *Holmby-House*; a Seat of his own in *Northamptonshire*. And now the business, as they thought being done, there was like to be more Disputes, for the next Difference is between the Parliament and the Army; the latter Seize the King, and oppose and give Laws to their Masters: So that now both the Army and the Parliament Court his Majesty: The latter send him Conditions of Peace, and the former offer to Settle him on his Throne, he rejected those Propositions. Nor did they agree much better about his Person; The Parliament send Instructions for his being resident

resident at *Richmond*, but the Army cannot submit to his being so near the Parliament; they Convey him first to *Roxton*, thence to *Hatfield*, and not long after to *Cusum*, and at length to *Hampton-Court*. And now the Mystery of Iniquity begins to work; *Cromwell* being afraid that the King shou'd agree with the Parliament, offer'd to stand by him with the Army, and considering likewise that he cou'd not accomplish his Designs while the King remain'd so near the Parliament; sent privately to the King, that he was in no Safety there, and that he wou'd be more secure in the *Ile of White*: upon which the poor King so deluded makes his Escape thither by Night: and there sent Propositions to the Parliament; which they reject with Indignation: Because the King would include the *Scots* Interest: Upon this the *Scots* Enter *England*, Demanding that the King might be brought to *London*, the Army Disbanded, and a lasting Peace settled between the two Kingdoms, and joyning with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, for the King, they rout *Lambert* at *Appleby*, and afterwards March into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, but *Cromwell* and *Lambert* joyning Armies, gave them an Entire Overthrow: After which *Cromwell* Marched into *Scotland*, and was Victorious there; and now the Army out-Plotting the Parliament call'd loudly to have the King brought to Justice: In the mean time His Majesty was Convey'd out of the *Ile of White*, and carried Prisoner to *Hurst-Castle*; and the House being New-Moulded by the Army; proceeded to restore the Vote of *Non-Address*: That no Message be received from the King on pain of Treason, and that the Council of State shou'd draw up a Charge of Treason against him; Decemb: 10th. the King was brought from *Hurst-Castle* to *Windsor*, and from thence to *St. James's*, and all things were preparing for his Dismal Tragedy, in which the *Jurists* proceeded, notwithstanding the Dissent of the Lords and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland* against it; so that they appointed a New Tribunal, called the *High-Court of Justice*, who were empower'd to Hear, Try, Judge and Execute *Charles Stuart* King of *England*: They Annul'd his Title, order'd the Great Seal of *England* to be Broken, and a New one to be made. On *Monday Jan. 20th*. This Wicked High-Court of Justice sat in *Westminster-Hall*; *John Bradshaw* was President of this Pretended Court; the Counsellors to draw up the Charge, were *Dorians*, Dr. of Civil Laws, *John Cooke* Solicitor, *Danby* Serjeant at Arms: With Clerks, Messengers and Doorkeepers, &c.

The Court being thus sat, and call'd over, the King was brought to the Bar by *Colonel Hacker*, Conducting him to a Chair within the Bar, And then *Bradshaw* said to the King.

" *Charles Stuart*: King of *England*, the Commons of *England*, being
 " sensible of the Calamity brought upon this Nation, and of the Inno-
 " cent Blood shed, which are Imputed to you as the Author: according
 " to that Duty which they ow to God and the Nation, and themselves;
 " and according to that Power and Fundamental Trust reposed in them by
 " the People; have Constituted this *High-Court of Justice*, before which
 " you are now brought, and are to hear your Charge, upon which the
 " Court will proceed. Then the Solicitor accus'd him of High-Treason,
 and the Charge was ordered to be read, tho' the King desired first to be heard.

The King often smil'd whilst the Charge was reading, especially at those words: *Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, &c.* Then Spoke *Bradshaw*: Sir you have heard your Charge, and you find in the close of it, that the Court is Prayed in behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you answer to the

Charge, which the Court now expects. Then the King demanded by what Authority they had brought him thither? To which *Bradshaw* told him, That he was not to dispute that, but to answer his Charge; and the King still denying the Jurisdiction of the Court, it was adjourn'd till *Monday* following; so the King was conducted back; several factious Fellows and Jewd Soldiers shouting out for Justice, thinking the rest of the People would have hallow'd to the same Tune; but instead thereof, they almost all cryed out, *God bless the King*. On *Monday, Jan. 22d*, the King was brought again to his Tryal, at what time the King with abundance of Eloquence argued against their pretended *High Court*, and not being able to out-reason him that Day neither, they adjourn'd their Court again till the next; which was *Tuesday, Jan. 23*. the Court sate again, and seventy three Commissioners were present.

The King being brought into Court, Solicitor *Cook* summ'd up what had been already done in it, and complaining of the great delay of Justice, moved for a speedy Judgment against the King.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard what is mov'd by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom against you, and now the Court expects that you give in your positive and Final Answer in plain *English*, whether you are Guilty, or Not Guilty, of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

King. When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England; I was interrupted, I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely, or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question, and that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of it, and Answer to your Charge, and when you have done that you shall be heard at large.

King. For the Charge I value not a Rush, it is the Liberty of the People of England that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before: I, that am your King, that should be an example to all the People of England, to uphold Justice, to maintain the Old Laws, Indeed I do not know how to do it. You spoke well one day of the Obligation that was laid upon me by God to maintain the Liberties of my People; the same Obligation you speak of calls upon me to defend, as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore till I know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in no particular Answer: If you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons, and this——Here the King was again interrupted, but recovering himself went on, saying, By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How I came hither I know not, there's no Law to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty on the publick Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and I had almost made an end of the Treaty, when I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore——

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir, —— Here *Bradshaw* interrupted him.

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, by your favour you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer. Clerk, Do your Duty.

King. Duty, Sir!

Then the Clerk read: 'Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accus'd

sed in behalf of the Commons of England, of divers Crimes and Treasons which Charge has been read unto you; the Court now equires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of Confession, or Denial of the Charge.

King. I say again to you, so that I may give Satisfaction to the People of England, of the cleanness of my Proceedings, not by way of Answer, but to satisfy them, that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to Acknowledge a New Court against their Privileges to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: Sir, you must excuse me.

Bradshaw. Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disavowed this Court, and put an Affront upon it; how far you have preserved the Privileges of the People your Actions have spoken; but, truly, Sir, Men's intentions should be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but, Sir, you understand the Pleasure of the Court. Clerk, Record the Default; you that took Charge of the Prisoner take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and his Court adjourn'd to the Painted Chamber, the Crier, as at other times, said *God bless the Kingdom of England*.

Saturday the 27th of Jan. 1648, the Court sat again in Westminster-Hall, Bradshaw was in Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answer'd to their Names, the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Soldiers and seditious Persons were placed about the Court, to cry for Justice, Judgment and Execution, the People not daring to cry *God bless him*, for fear of being beaten again by the Soldiers.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented, and brought before this Court, to make Answer to a Charge of High-Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against him, in the Name of the people of England, to which Charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from Obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him reasoning, and debating unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being Over-ru'd in that, and required to make his answer, he still continued contumacious, and refus'd to submit to an answer; hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust repos'd in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulness prevent Justice they have consider'd of the Charge, and of the Contumacy, and of that confession which, in Law, doth arise on that Contumacy; they have also consider'd the Notoriety of the Fact charg'd upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter, they are resolv'd, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against him; but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be pronounced against him, the Court doth resolve to hear him; yet, Sir, this I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at our Courts, if that which you have to say be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offer'd it formerly, and you have *struck at the root*, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of England, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that Acts upon Authority derived from them: But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self, concerning the matter charged, the Court has given me in command to hear you.

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of Debate, concern-
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ing that which, I confess, I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it; but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is my *Conscience* and my *Honour*, and if I had respect to my Life, more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my Life, for by that at least wise, I might have delay'd an *Ugly Sentence*, which I believe will pass upon me, therefore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the World, if that true Zeal to my Country had not over born the Care that I have for my own preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once pass'd, may sooner be repented of, than recall'd, and truly the self same desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at last desire that I may say something that concerns both. I desire that before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons. This delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason, those that hear must be Judges. I cannot be Judge of that which I have to say, if it be reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend, I hope it is real, the Liberty of the Subject and Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence passeth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that your fair shews of Liberty and Peace, are pure shews, and that you will not hear your King.

Bradshaw said this was declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay, yet the Court withdrew for half an Hour, Advised upon it, and Sat again.

Bradshaw said to the King, that the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority; the return from the Court, said he, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and are Judges appointed by the highest Authority, and Judges are no more delay than to deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have Offer'd, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, that is their Unanimous Resolution.

The King press'd again, and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber with great Earnestness, and was often denied by *Bradshaw*, at last the King desired that this motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, highly aggravating the King's pretended Offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose; and when *Bradshaw* had done speaking, *Broughton* the Clerk, Read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this Effect.

That whereas the Commons of *England* had appointed them an High-Court of Justice, for the Trial of *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, before whom he had been three times Conven'd, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, was read in the behalf of Kingdom of the *England, &c.* which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said *Charles Stewart* was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so express'd the several passages at the Trial, in refusing

refusing to Answer, for all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth Adjudge, that he the said *Charles Stewart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to Death by Severing his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence was Read, *Bradshaw* said, This Sentence now Read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court, and then the whole Court stood up, as assenting to what *Bradshaw* said.

King. Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir!

Bradshaw. No, Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I am not suffered to Speak, except what Justice other People will have.

This pretended Court, after Judgment given, went into the Painted Chamber, and appointed, Sir. *Hirdress Waller*, *Iveton*, *Harrison*, *Dean* and *Okey*, to consider of the time and place for the Execution.

The King being not allowed to Reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir *Robert Corion's* House, and as he pass'd down Stairs, the Rude Soldiers scold'd at him, blew the Smoak of their Tobacco in his Face (a thing always very offensive to him) strewed pieces of Pipes in his way, and one more abominable insolent than the rest, spit in his Face, which his Majesty patiently wiped off, taking no farther notice of it: And as he pass'd farther, hearing some of them by the instigation of their Officers, cry out, Justice, Justice, and Execution, he said, Alas poor Souls, for a Piece of Money, they would do as much for their Commanders. Afterward the King hearing that his Execution was determined to be the next day, before the Palace at *Whitehall*, he sent an Officer in the Army to desire them, that he might see his Children before his Death, and that Doctor *Fuxon*, Bishop of *London*, might be permitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament, both which were granted to him upon a Motion to the Parliament.

The same day that the Warrant was Signed for his Execution, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, were brought to him, whom he received with great Joy and Satisfaction, and giving his Blessing to the Princess, He bid her remember to tell her Brother James, that he should no more look upon Charles as his Elder Brother only, but as his Sovereign, and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-Heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head (at which Words the Child looked very wishfully upon him) Mark Child what I say, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King; but mark what I say, you must not be a King so long as your Brothers, Charles and James are alive; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads, as soon as they can catch them, and cut thy Head off too at last, and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing said, I will be torn in pieces first — which falling so unexpectedly from a Child so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

On the fatal day, being the 30th of January, the Bishop of *London* read Divine Service in his presence, and the 27 of *Matthew*, the History of our Saviour's Passion being appointed by the Church for that Day; he gave the Bishop thanks for his reasonable choice of the Lesson; but the Bishop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it comforted him exceedingly, and then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended,

ended, he was brought from St. James's to *White-hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind, with a Private Guard of *Partisans* about him, the Bishop of *London* on the one Hand, and Colonel *Tomlinson* who had the Charge of him on the other Bareheaded. The Guards marching but a slow pace, the King bid them go faster, saying; That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with less sollicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to Fight for an Earthly Diadem. Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in *White-hall*, where formerly he used to Lodge, and there finding an expected delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he past most of that time in Prayer. About twelve a Clock, Colonel *Hacker*, with other Officers and Souldiers, brought the King with the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson* through the Banqueting-House, to the Scaffold, a Passage being made through a Window. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot, were planted on all sides, which hindred the near approach of his Mourning Subjects (who for discovering their Sorrow were barbarously used) and the King from speaking to be heard, and therefore being upon the Scaffold, he chiefly directed his Speech to the Bishop, and Colonel *Tomlinson* to this purpose.

‘ I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a Word to you here; indeed I could have held my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as the Punishment; but I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear myself, both as an Honest Man, a Good King, and a Good Christian. I shall first begin with my Innocency, and in Troth I think it not very needful to insist long upon this, for all the World knows, that I did never begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to Witness, unto whom I must shortly make an account, that I did never intend to Encroach upon their Privileges, they began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon, they confessed the Militia was mine, but they thought fit to have it from me, and to be short, if any body will look to the *Dates of Commissions*, of their Commissions, and mine, and likewise to the *Declaration*, he will see clearly that they began these Troubles, and not I. So as for the Guilt of these Enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not, for I am in Charity, and God forbid I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the cause of all this Bloodshed, so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say God's Judgments are just upon me, many times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary, I will say this, that an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary, I will say this, that an unjust Sentence that I suffer'd to take effect, is punish'd by an unjust Sentence upon me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an Innocent Man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good Man [*Pointing to the Bishop*] that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the cause of Death; who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them; but this not all, my Charity must go farther, I wish that they may Repent, indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that be not laid

laid to their charge; and withal, that they may take the way to the peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do with all my Soul, (*I see there are some here that will carry it farther*) the peace of the Kingdom. Sirs, I must shew you how you are out of the way, and put you in the way; first you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as ever I could find by any thing: If in the way of Conquest, certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a good and just Cause, either for matter of Wrong, or a just Title, and then if you go beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that Unjust at the end that was Just at first; for if there be only matter of Conquest then it is a Robbery, as a Pirate said to *Alexander*, that he was a great Robber, himself was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I think for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is my Successor) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his Due, by regulating the Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order; and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this, *A National Synod freely call'd, freely debating among themselves must settle this*: When every Opinion is freely heard: For the King indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that, therefore because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the people truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whosoever; but I must tell you that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and theirs may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing appertaining to them; a Subject and a Sovereign, are clear differing things, and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that Liberty as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Course, to have all Laws chang'd according to the Power of the Sword, I need not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have a little better digested this I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take take Courses, that are the best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.

Bishop. Tho' your Majesties affections may be very well known as to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should say something thereof for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you heartily my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it; in Troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father; and this honest Man I think will witness it. Then speaking to the Executioners, he said, I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands, — let that be your Sign.

Then

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you; who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, with the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then turning to the Executioner, he said, I have a good Cause, and a righteous God on my side.*

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and full of trouble, it is a short one; but you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way. It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of Cordial Joy and Happiness.

King. *I go from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

Bishop. You are Exchanged from a Temporary, to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

Then the King said, *is my Hair well?* and took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying *Remember.* Then he put off his Dublet, and being in his Wastecoat, he put on his Cloak again, then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast Sir.

King. *When I put out my Hands this way,* stretching them out—*Then do your Work;* after having said two or three Words to himself as he stood with Hands lift up to Heaven, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to strike, said, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and't pleasure your Majesty. Then after a little pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body; which, with his Body, was put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodgings at *White-hall*: From thence it was carried to his House at *St. James's*, where his Body was Embalm'd, and put into a Coffin of Lead, and there lay a Fortnight to be seen of the People. On *Wednesday* seven-night after, his Corps embalm'd and coffin'd in Lead, was deliver'd to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, Captain *Preston* and Mr. *John Joyner*, who, with others in Mourning, accompanied the Hearse that night to *Windſor*, and placed it in the Room which was formerly the King's Bed-chamber: Whence

it was next day removed into the Dean's Hall, and from thence, by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquiss of *Hertford*, the Marquiss of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, convey'd to *St. George's Chapel*, and there Interred in the Vault, as is supposed, of King *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Jane*, with this Inscription upon the Coffin,

CHARLES, King of *England*, MDCXLVIII.

This Unfortunate Prince was of a Majestick, Comply Presence, of a sweet, grave, but melancholy aspect; His Face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his Body strong, healthy, and well made, and tho' of a low Stature, was able to endure the greatest Fatigues. In his temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal and Constant, a great Lover, and as great a Master of Manly Exercises, and yet no less accomplished in the Graces, and Entertainments of a Court: Nor did he fall short of the bravest Hero's in Personal Valour, having exposed his Person in every Battel he Fought, and oftentimes Charging in the Head of his Squadrons. He had a good taste of Learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the Liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Medals; and being a generous Benefactor to the most celebrated Masters in those Arts, he acquired the Noblest Collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. In his Devotions he was Constant, Regular, and Intent, a great Patron of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and so Zealous for the Doctrine and Discipline of that Church, that he seal'd it with his Blood; and when he could no longer support it with his Arms, he defended it by his Pen, beyond all contraction. He was well read in all the essential Points of Divinity, and was as great a Master in it as his Father, but without the allay of Pedantry: Of this, among ether things, the Papers that pass'd betwixt him, and *Henderson* at *New-Castle*, will be a lasting Monument. He was a lover of Episcopacy, because he understood its Antiquity and Excellency in Ecclesiastical Government, in opposition to all other new invented Models whatsoever. His great Presence of Mind was Conspicuous, both in the Field and on the Scaffold, and was not mistaken in himself, when he said before the High Court of Justice, *That he understood as much Law as any Private Gentleman in England*. He was a Passionate Lover of the Queen, who was a
Beautiful

Beautiful Lady, and in all things very accomplish'd: In short he was the Best of Husbands, the Best of Fathers, the Best of Masters, and peradventure the Best of Men. He spake several Languages very well, and with a singular good Grace; tho now and then, when he was warm in Discourse he was inclinable to stammer. He wrote a tolerable good Hand for a King, but his Sence was strong, and his Stile *Laconick*, and yet he seldom writ in any Language but *English*.

Some of his Manifesto's, Declarations, and other Publick Papers; he drew himself, and most of them he Corrected. In comparing those of the Kings with the Parliaments, he must have lost his Understanding; that does not give the Preference to the Kings, for strength of reasoning, and Force of expression. There are several pieces of his own Hand-writing yet to be seen, which for Matter and Form, surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford* and *Falkland*, two most Celebrated Pens of that Time. What his Opinion was about Subjects Defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms, appeared in the Business of *Rockel*. For though some would have perswaded us of late, that Defensive Arms were inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; I hope they will not deny, but this King understood the Doctrine and Principles of the *English* Church, as well as any other Person can pretend to know them; and yet it is certain that in his Practice and Declarations, he approv'd of the *Rockellerr* Vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Encroachments made by their Sovereign, and that by Force of Arms; and assisted them in so doing. No Prince was better Instructed in the Principles of Government than he was, and his only unhappiness was, that he sometimes trusted to other Men's Counsels, rather than to his own, and put so much Power into his Enemies hands in hopes of gaining them, that he was no longer in Power to defend himself. In effect, he was too good a Man to be a happy Prince, and rather was destroyed by his own tenderness than by the Force of his Enemies, as appears by the ill use which was made of it in several Treaties, Councils and Battels. To conclude, the War it self was unjustifiable, Rebellious and Barbarous; but the Formalities of proceeding against him by Arraignment, Tryal, Sentence and Execution, fill'd all *Christendom* with Horror and Indignation; and 'tis to be fear'd that his Blood still cries aloud for Vengeance, against the Contrivers and Instruments of that Execrable Murder, which no sin can equal but the Justifying it; and tho' Indemnity has pardon'd it, no Oblivion can deface it. FINIS.

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